

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 NICOSI 02439 181626Z

42

ACTION SS-30

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O 181530Z AUG 74

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9546

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T NICOSIA 2439

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDG

TAGS: PFOR CY

SUBJECT: VIEWS OF UN SPECIAL REP AND GENERAL PREM CHAND ON CYPRUS
DEVELOPMENTS, OUR VIEWS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

SUMMARY: UNSYG REP AMB WECKMANN AND FORCE COMMANDER GEN. PREM CHAND
CALLED FOLLOWING MORNING SESSION WITH ACTING PRES. CLERIDES TO
REPORT LATTER BECOMING CONVINCED TURKISH FORCES WILL END IN
CONTROL OF ENTIRE ISLAND UNLESS CEASEFIRE LINES CAN BE
ESTABLISHED AND SOME FORMOF NEGOTIATIONS STARTED. CLERIDES IS
READY TO SEEK A FREE HAND FROM ATHENS TO NEOGITIATE IF GREECE
UNWILLING PARTICIPATE. EMBASSY'S THOUGHTS ON HOW U.S. MIGHT
CONTRIBUTE TO STABILIZING CEASEFIRE AND GETTING NEGOTIATORY
PROCESS STARTED ARE OUTLINED. END SUMMARY

1. SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPRESENTATIVE AMB. WECKMANN ACCOMPANIED
BY UN FORCE DCR PREM CHAND CALLED ON AMBASSADOR AT 12:30 P..
FOR EXCHANGE OF VIEWS FOLLOWING A SEVERAL HOUR SESSION THEY HAD
HAD WITH ACTING PRES. CLERIDES. DATT JESSUP ALSO PRESENT.

2. AMB. WECKMANN SAID THAT PRES. CLERIDES WAS BECOMING CON-
VINCED ULTIMATE TURKISH GOAL WAS MILITARY CONTROL OF ALL CYPRUS.
TURKISH LINE OF CONTROL NOW RUNS SOUTH FROM FAMAGUSTA TO TROULLI,
ATHIENOU, ACROSS LARNACA ROAD AT ONE POINT AND PARALLELING

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 NICOSI 02439 181626Z

IT INTO NICOSIA, CONSIDERABLY SOUTH OF WHERE TURKISH POSITIONS

WERE AT 1800 AUG. 16. GEN PREM FELT IT LIKELY THERE MIGHT BE "JUST ONE MORE TURKISH VILLAGE OR JUST ONE MORE HILL" TO KEEP TURKS IN MOTION. IN ANSWER TO QUESTION OF WHAT HIS INSTRUCTIONS FROM NEW YORK WERE, HE REPLIED "DO YOUR BEST."

3. CLERIDES FELT IT OF PRIME IMPORTANCE TO PIN DOWN LINE OF FURTHEST TURKISH ADVANCE TO PERMIT SOME FORM OF NEGOTIATIONS TO BEGIN. ALTHOUGH HE RECOGNIZED KARAMANLIS GOVT HAD BOXED ITSELF IN BY PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF UNWILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE UNLESS TURKS PULLED BACK TO AUG 9. LINES, HE WAS PREPARED TO TELL ATHENS IF GREECE NOT WILLING TO ENGAGE, HE MUST BE GIVEN FREE HAND TO SEE WHAT HE COULD GET THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS.

4. PURPOSE OF WECKMANN'S CALL WAS TO MAKE CASE FOR U.S. INTERVENTION FIRST TO GET TURKS TO STABILIZE CEASEFIRE LINE AND

SECOND TO USE ITS INFLUENCE TO GET NEGOTIATORY PROCESS STARTED. HE SUGGESTED THAT IN LIGHT OF GREECE POSITION, IT MIGHT BE WELL TO SCRAP CONCEPT OF A GENEVA MEETING OF GUARANTORS AND GET NEGOTIATIONS STARTED IN NICOSIA BETWEEN CLERIDES AND DENKTASH IN UN BUFFER ZONE. PRESSED AS TO WHETHER HE IN FACT THOUGHT ANKARA WOULD PERMIT DENKTASH TO NEGOTIATE ON MATTERS SO VITAL TO MAINLAND TURK INTERESTS, HE FELT THAT IMPORTANCE OF GETTING THE PROCESS STARTED WARRANTED CONSIDERING WHETHER CLERIDES COULD NOT NEGOTIATE WITH DENKTASH TEAMED WITH A TURK EMISSARY.

5. GEN. PREM NOTED THAT ALTHOUGH UNFICYP IS ACTIVE IN GREEK CYPRIOT AREAS AND THUS CAN PROTECT TURK CYPRIOTS, IT IS NOT PERMITTED TO MOVE INTO AREAS NOW CONTROLLED BY TURKS AND THUS GREEK CYPRIOTS ARE LEFT TO WHATEVER HUMANITARIAN INSTINCTS TURKISH FORCES MAY OR MAY NOT HAVE. YESTERDAY HE SUGGESTED TO TURKISH MILITARY COMMANDER OF FAMAGUSTA THAT UNFICYP FORCES BE SENT INTO ABANDONED GREEK QUARTER TO PREVENT WHOLESAL E LOOTING AND DESTRUCTION IN THIS, THE ISLANDS WEALTHIEST CITY. TO THE PRESENT, TURK CYPRIOTS HAVE BEEN CONFINED TO OLD TURKISH QUARTER BECAUSE OF TURKISH ARMY FEAR THAT SITUATION COULD GET OUT OF CONTROL IF THEY WERE FREE TO ENTER INTO GREEK SECTOR. BOTH WECKMANN AND PREM FELT IT INDISPENSABLE THAT UNFICYP RESUME ITS ACTIVITIES POLICING CEASEFIRE LINES AND TRY TO ENSURE WELFARE OF TURKS

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 NICOSI 02439 181626Z

AND GREEKS IN EACH OTHER'S ZONE.

EMBASSY COMMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

6. SITUATION ON ISLAND REMAINS DANGEROUS. CEASEFIRE GENERALLY HOLDS BUT OPPOSING FORCES ARE IN DIRECT CONFRONTATION IN ALL AREAS AND ANY MINOR FLAREUP COULD QUICKLY ESCALATE INTO MORE GENERALIZED FIGHTING. ALSO CLEAR THAT GIVEN CURRENT MOOD PREVAILING IN MAINLAND CAPITALS RECONVENING OF GENEVA CONFERENCE IN

NEAR FUTURE HIGHLY UNLIKELY. UNLESS SOME OUTSIDE POWER TAKES INITIATIVE DEFUSE SITUATION , WE SEE REAL DANGER OF FUTURE DETERIORATION NOT JUST ON CYPRUS BUT IN EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN IN GENERAL.

7. FROM OUR LIMITED PERSPECTIVE, APPEARS CLEAR THAT USG IS ONLY STATE CAPABLE OF TAKING INITIATIVE AT THIS TIME. HMG HAS LOST WHATEVER CLOUT IT HAD WITH TURKISH GOVT, WHILE SENIOR UN OFFICIALS HERE (RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY) ARE REGARDED BY TURKISH MILITARY COMMAND AS STRONGLY BIASED IN FAVOR GREEKS. ANY PROPOSAL EITHER OF THESE FLOAT (AND WE HAVE DOUBT THAT WALDHEIM COULD BE PERSUADED LAUNCH SUCH INITIATIVE) WILL BE PROBABLY NON-STARTER.

8. AS WE SEE IT MATTER OF GREAT IMPORTANCE IS TO OBTAIN CLEARLY DEFINABLE CEASEFIRE LINE ON GROUND IN WHICH GREEKS HAVE SOME CONFIDENCE. PROBABLY QUICKEST MEANS OF OBTAINING THIS LINE IS TO PERSUADE TURKS UNILATERALLY TO DECLARE LIMITS OF THEIR OCCUPATION AND PRESENT THESE TO UNFICYP, PERMITTING UNFICYP TO ESTABLISH OPS AND PATROL ALONG LINE. (ECEVIT CAME CLOSE TO MAKING SUCH DECLARATION IN TV INTERVIEW --FBIS L 180318 -- WITH SOME PRESSURE HE PROBABLY COULD BE MOVED BE MORE EXPLICIT.) DECLARATION WOULD HAVE MORE MEANING IF TURKISH ALSO DECLARED THIS LINE REPRESENTS LIMITS OF THEIR ADVANCE AND IS NOT NECESSARILY BOUNDARY OF THEIR FUTURE "CANTON." ULTIMATE FOR NOW WOULD BE UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL IN SOME AREAS BY TURKS TO SHOW GOOD FAITH AND CREATE ATMOSPHERE CONDUCTIVE TO FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS. THE MOST MEANINGFUL AREA SINCE IT IS AREA WITH GREATEST POTENTIAL FOR TROUBLE WOULD BE A SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF FAMAGUSTA AND SOME SECTION OF BULGE BELOW ATTLA LINE. WE SHOULD TRY FOR ALL BUT SETTLE FOR WHAT WE CAN GET RE TURKISH WITHDRAWAL.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 NICOSI 02439 181626Z

9. ESTABLISHMENT OF OPS AND UNFICYP PATROLS WILL HAVE IMPORTANT ROLE IN PREVENTING ACCIDENTAL CLASHES. WE REALIZE THAT GIVEN RECENT CANADIAN AND POSSIBLE OTHER REACTIONS, THIS MAY MECESSITATE REOPENING WHOLE QUESTION OF UNFICYP MANDATE. AT MINIMUM, WE WILL NEED TO STIFFENWALDHEIM'S SPINE CONSIDERABLY TO AVOID MAJOR DEBATE AND DELAY IN UNSC.

10. FOLLOWING ABOVE, POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE REQUIRED. IF ATHENS REMAINS ADAMANT THAT IT WILL NOT RESUME DISCUSSIONS UNLESS TURKS PULL BACK TO AUG 9 POSITIONS (SOMETHING CLEARLY NOT IN CARDS), LEAST GREEK GOVT CAN DO IS ALLOW CLERIDES INITIATE NEGOTIATIONS HERE. CLERIDES IS WILLING APPARENTLY TO BRACE GREEKS ON THIS AND WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO ASSIST THROUGH AVEROFF OR KARAMANLIS.

11. GOT COULD LEAVE NEGOTIATIONS TO DENKTASH OR SEND OWN DELEGATION.

IN EITHER CASE WE SUSPECT TURKEY'S INTEREST WOULD BE FULLY PROTECTED. WE WOULD PREFER SEE NEGOTIATIONS CARRIED OUT BY ISLAND'S OWN LEADERS WHO IN GENEVA APPARENTLY APPEARED FAR MORE RATIONAL THAN THEIR MAINLAND MENTOR.

12. IMPORTANT POINT IS TO GET THESE NEGOTIATIONS UNDERWAY AND CEASEFIRE LINE ESTABLISHED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. TO DO THIS, THINK IT NECESSARY WE WEIGH IN STRONGLY IN BOTH ANKARA AND ATHENS. FROM ECEVIT'S COMMENTS TO AMB MACOMBER, IT OBVIOUS TURKISH LEADER HOLDS SECRETARY IN VERY HIGH REGARD. IF OUR PROPOSALS ARE DEEMED WORTH PURSUING RECOMMEND THAT SECRETARY CALL ECEVIT AND URGE HIM INITIATE PROCESS OUTLINED ABOVE IMMEDIATELY.

13. WITH ATHENS WE MUST SEEK TO GET GREEK GOVT TO SAY PUBLICLY THINGS IT NOW WILLING CONCEED IN PRIVATE (ATHENS 5799). CLERIDES SHOULD NOT ONLY BE AUTHORIZED TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS BUT HE MUST BE ASSURED BY ATHENS THAT HE WILL NOT BE BRANDED A TRAITOR WHEN OUTCOME THIS PROCESS FINALLY BURIES ENOSIS ASPIRATIONS SO DEAR TO ALL HELLENIC HEARTS. IN MONTHS AHEAD, CLERIDES WILL NEED ALL HELP HE CAN GET TO BRING NEGOTIATIONS TO SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION WITHOUT UTTERLY TEARING APART HIS COMMUNITY AND THIS ISLAND. TO EXTENT ATHENS CAN MUZZLE ENOSIS HOTHEADS AND MAKARIOS (WHO REMAINS A TROUBLESOME WILD CARD), CLERIDES SHOULD HAVE SOME LEEWAY TO NEGOTIATE.

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SECRET

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PAGE 05 NICOSI 02439 181626Z

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